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well stocked; but given the shortage of food and consumer goods, this is rarely, if ever, the case. For workers' children, social advancement is easy because the Party must recruit the cadres of the new intelligentsia from their ranks. The worker can educate himself by attending countless evening courses. If he stands in good favor with the Party he can enjoy a vacation in a rest home, all expenses paid. On the other hand, he cannot defend himself against exploitation by his employer, the state. His trade union representatives are Party tools. They team together with the factory managers for one purpose: to raise production. Workers are told that a strike is a crime. Against whom are they to strike? Against themselves? After all, the means of production belong to them, the state belongs to them. But such an explanation is not very convincing. The workers, who dare not state aloud what they want, know that the goals of the state are far from identical with their own.

Central and Eastern Europe produce in order to raise the military and economic potential of the Center and to compensate for the industrial backwardness of Russia. Workers and their needs have no influence on production plans. Most of the goods produced ebb away to the East. Besides, every product of a worker's hands is the object of innumerable bookkeeping operations. A whole staff of functionaries sits in every factory, counting, writing reports, compiling statistics; the same thing happens on every rung of the state hierarchy, right through to the state wholesale houses and retail stores. If, at last, the article reaches the consumer, it is very expensive; into its cost are counted the salaries of the swarms of bureaucrats through whose hands it must pass. Factory machines are over-aged; there is a scarcity of essential spare parts. So workers are ordered to replace broken parts by whatever

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homemade means they can devise. Production comes first, even at the price of using up the machines. Discipline is severe; negligence or even a few minutes' lateness are strictly punished. No wonder, then, that the bad side of the system outweighs the good in the worker's mind. Still, he dares not complain. If he betrays any signs of discontent the security police, whose secret agents are his coworkers and sometimes his friends, takes care of him.

The wildcat strikes that break out from time to time are no threat in themselves, for peace returns quickly after mass arrests of all participants. They are, however, ominous signs that discontentment has reached a tension that can find release only in desperate acts. A strike requires a certain minimum of organization. That is why nothing else makes Party dialecticians so uneasy. The workers are the only class capable of organized action—that Marxist principle has never been forgotten. No action, however, is possible without leaders. If the leaders reason correctly, that is, if they understand the necessities of the historic process, then the workers as a mass will be unable to protest.

Everything, thus, takes us back to the question of mastery over the mind. Every possible opportunity for education and advancement is offered to the more energetic and active individuals among the workers. The new, incredibly extensive bureaucracy is recruited from among the young people of working-class origin. The road before them is open, open but guarded: their thinking must be based on the firm principles of dialectical materialism. Schools, theaters, films, painting, literature, and the press all shape their thinking.

We should also call attention to a new institution, the "club," whose significance is comparable to that of the chapel in the middle ages. It exists in every factory, ev-

316 tive Middle Europe can gradually increase their output of coal,
433 and thus can assure a constant growth of their basic source of industrial energy. Much progress in that direction can be made through high investments and multiple technical improvements, as well as by better organization of production. But the "normal" conditions presuppose that the targets for coal output remain within the range of feasibility and the miners are assured of a minimum acceptable standard of living. In the course of 1951, either one or both of these conditions were not kept by most of the satellite governments, and the planned output of coal is at present exposed to considerable danger.

In February-March 1951, under relentless pressure from Moscow, the Czechoslovak and Hungarian governments were forced to decree a notable speed-up of their long-range industrial plans, equivalent to boosting their annual quotas of production from the beginning of 1951. The Czech 1953 target for coal has been increased from 20.8 to 25 million tons and that of lignite from 32.2 to 38.6 million; the Hungarian 1954 target for both coal and lignite from 24.2 to 27.5 million tons. *Ipso facto*, the annual targets for 1951, 1952, and future years, have been boosted accordingly. Since the old targets were already high, it is perfectly legitimate to doubt whether these new plans can be fulfilled in time. In the light of recent statistical data, Czech coal mining is fulfilling the old plan but not the inflated new one. The same seems to be true in Hungary.

433 Quite apart from the real or apparent unfeasibility of the
511 two coal plans in question, the recent acute food shortage in
● 466 most of the captive area (except in Eastern Germany and possibly Bulgaria) has resulted, since the early fall of 1951, in an appreciable lowering of the standard of living of all industrial workers, and of coal miners in particular. The reasons for this food shortage are many: one of them is a long period of drought in most of the captive area and the consequent loss of much of the potato crop, the staple food of the population. Even if the bread grain crops were satisfactory, the shortage of potatoes would be a major calamity for men and animals alike, and by

itself would lead to a shortage of meat, especially pork. This current emergency caught the satellite governments unprepared, the more so because they had been stripping their countries of foodstuffs by military stockpiling, sending vast amounts of meat, sugar, and other staples to Russia and Red China, and antagonizing the peasant producers of food by ever increasing taxes, supply quotas, and other forms of persecution and chicanery. The net consequence of such policies and practices is that in many industrial areas of captive Middle Europe the people have had very little meat since the summer of 1951. Their supply of sugar, vegetables, and potatoes has also been very short. The Polish, Czech, Hungarian, and Rumanian coal miners were already badly housed, badly clothed, and overworked. Now they are also badly fed, and they may be — or actually are — incapable of working as much as is expected. The lowered efficiency of the miners means less coal and less coal means in turn less electric power, less machinery, and less chemicals. A shortage of fuel may be equivalent to a nonfulfillment of industrial targets all over the four countries in question.

Statistical data naturally lag behind the real situation in industry. At the end of 1951 the available statistical figures were not yet fully reflecting the most serious consequences of the food crisis. However, they were indicative of a trend toward a depression in coal mining.

In Poland the coal target for the third quarter of 1951 was not fulfilled, and the actual production was only 2 percent higher than a year before, instead of the expected 5 to 6 percent. During the first half of 1951 coal extraction in Rumania was nearly 8 percent behind the plan, although it was claimed to be 26 percent above the output during the corresponding period of 1950. In the same period in Hungary coal was 6 percent behind the schedule, although again production was claimed to be 22 percent higher than 1950. In Czechoslovakia the slump in coal production was much more pronounced. It began by a temporary failure of production towards the end of 1950; even though it was overcome, the Czech government found itself unable

316 433 to supply adequate supplementary manpower to the coal mines. In the third quarter of 1951 the joint coal and lignite plan was fulfilled only by 91 percent. Lignite mining was more or less satisfactory, but coal mining (in particular in the important Ostrava-Karvinna coal basin) was actually on the verge of a possible breakdown; by the end of October 1951, Czech coal production was 1.3 million tons behind schedule. Eastern Germany alone was implementing its coal plan.

● [466] Faced with a direct threat to their planning, the satellite governments took, towards the end of 1951, a series of harsh steps. Their object was to assure higher wages and a better diet for the coal miners and to prevent the increasing absenteeism and bad discipline in the mines, as well as the increasing fluidity of manpower (in particular in Czechoslovakia and Hungary). Under the impact of these measures, the production curve in the all-important Silesian-Ostravan coal basin went upwards again in November and December 1951. It is possible that the Polish coal target for 1951 (somewhat above 83 million tons) was reached before the end of the year. It is doubtful, however, that the Czech target was reached. In the first weeks of 1952 it is too early to say whether this new production rise is temporary or permanent. It depends very largely on the supply of foodstuffs. The police states have at their disposal many effective methods of dealing with critical situations, but they cannot produce foodstuffs at will. It took the Soviet government years to overcome a similar situation in the Donets basin coal mining.

316 The production of lignite in the captive area is far less difficult for the satellite governments, in particular for Eastern Germany, which mines several times more lignite than all the other countries of Middle Europe combined. The explanation lies in the technique of extraction. The deposits of lignite generally lie close to the surface of the ground and can be worked by stripping and scraping from open mines, or they are covered by a shallow overburden[77] that must be removed before the mineral can be mined, as is true of some coal deposits in the United States. Only one fortieth of the nearly unlimited reserves of lignite in Eastern

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chosen by lot. Then at the appointed hour in the night they 697
pounce on their victim and hack him to pieces in a bestial fashion.

E
Such is the situation in Russia. There are also concentration 699
camps in the satellite countries, called in Communist language 466
"People's Democracies." It has been estimated that more than 1,000,000 persons have been sent to such camps, and the number may be far greater. Not included in this figure, for example, are Eastern Germany and the former Baltic States. The 699
existence of concentration camps has been widely advertised, 671
and decrees establishing them are on the statute books of all 687
the People's Democracies. The decrees merely apply to the country in question the provisions of Article 59 of the Criminal Code of U.S.S.R. The first Article of the Criminal Code of Rumania, for example, as reported by Albert K. Herling, reads as follows:

> Criminal law has for its purpose defending the Rumanian People's Republic and its legal order against actions dangerous to society by enforcing legal measures of social defense against persons who commit such actions. In the meaning of the preceding paragraph any action and omission that brings harm to the economic, social and political structure, or to the security of the Rumanian People's Republic, or which disturbs the legal order established by the people under the leadership of the working class is to be considered dangerous to society. The actions which are considered dangerous for society can be punished even when they are not expressly prohibited by law. In such cases the extent and limit of criminal responsibility is to be determined in accordance with the legal provisions in force for similar crimes.*

E.
The number of camps in the area reported by persons who 466
assert that they were present in them is so vast that the names by 699

* Statement issued on June 18, 1952, in behalf of the International League for the Rights of Man.

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466 which they go and the places where they are situated would fill
697 a small directory. Thus 179 have been reported from Czechoslovakia alone. If the information gathered is correct, there are at least six hundred slave-labor institutions in the People's Democracies. The use to which this labor is put, according to reports, is significant. In Rumania slave laborers, for example, work on farms, at power plants, on the construction of railroads and bridges, on the digging of canals, and in factories. Of interest also is the manner in which the system has been developed. Both Poland and Czechoslovakia witnessed the deportation to Russia, during the early stages of the occupation, of hundreds of thousands of people deemed hostile to Communism. Popular resentment of this brought about a temporary lull. What happened next, if one can judge by the experience of the Czechs and Slovaks, is that the government was authorized to compel workers to remain on jobs deemed to be in the national interest. This action was described as an emergency measure. The net result, however, was that young workers suspected of being hostile to the Communist regime were disciplined.

466 After the seizure of power by the Communists in 1948, several decrees were issued authorizing the government of Czechoslovakia to establish commissions of three to determine whether citizens should be sentenced to forced labor. Liability was very broadly defined. Thus one decree stipulated that "persons who are not less than eighteen and not more than sixty years of age, and are physically and mentally capable of working but evade work or threaten the establishment of the people's democratic order," might be sent to work camps for periods not less than three months and not longer than two years. In addition very stringent regulations were laid down concerning the supply of labor. No one was any longer to change his place of employment unless the responsible au-

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thorities had received the request and acceded to it. Perhaps 466 ●
the most stringent regulation was that which held the trade unions responsible for the production outlined in the Five-Year Plan but deprived them of every right to defend workers against the state. Boiled down to its essentials, the system compels every laboring man to expend the last ounce of his energy regardless of whether he is employed normally or under duress. In the circumstances, it is rather strange that while the forced laborer's dinner normally consists of coffee and three potatoes, it is followed by a lecture on the blessings of Marxism.

A social system of this character cannot tolerate sabotage, 000
even if that is mere opposition to the aims and purposes of the rulers; for any thought, word, or deed which deprives the masters of even so much as an hour of a worker's time, or which places upon them the burden of defending any action they have taken, represents a loss of precious human energy. Sins are committed against the highest authority on earth (and of course there is no power beyond the world of appearance and matter), Stalin or his successors, by those who feel that the traditional forms of European living offer the greatest hope of human happiness. Therefore the Church was from the outset doomed, not only because it professed a spiritual view of life at odds with dialectical materialism but also because it was an obstacle to the full and unrestricted use of human beings. An American may find it hard to understand fanaticism of this sort, but every thoughtful churchman doomed to live under Communist domination knows the truth full well.

But how can a compact religious body be infiltrated? The answer is of course that, if the churches were not human but representative of every ideal which they purport to profess, the high tide of Communism would break at their doorsteps. So profoundly spiritual, however, they are not. Some of the clergy

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only conclusion possible would be that the Bureaucracy is the owner of the wealth of these countries, that as well as being the ruling class politically, it is the ruling class economically.

The Abolition of all Elements of Democracy in the Factory

The relations between the state-bureaucracy and the people in the economy as a whole permeate each sector of it down to the individual enterprise. The macrocosm and the microcosms are governed by the same rules.

In Russia from 1917 to 1928 the running of the industries was, formally at least, in the hands of what was called the Troika (that is, trio)—the workers' factory committee, the Party cell and the manager. With the disappearance of all democracy in the Party and trade unions, the Troika gradually lost its functions till it became a mere label. Nevertheless it did not cease to stand officially at the head of the plant, nominally running it, and even to show signs of life by acting as something of a brake on the high-handedness of the plant manager, until 1929. Thus Dr. A. Baykov, in *The Development of the Soviet Economic System* (London, 1946), states:

'*De facto*, during that period (before the Five Year Plan—Y.G.) the director was largely dependent on the works' trade union organ, the "Zavkom" (the factory trade union committee) and on the Party cell, the organ of the Communist Party at the enterprise. Representatives of these organizations considered it their duty to supervise the director's activities, and usually interfered with his decisions'. (p. 115).

But even the remnants of workers' democracy in the plants disappeared with the Five Year Plans, which were called . . . 'The Victory of Socialism'. A resolution of the Central Committee of the Party decided that the workers' committee of the factory 'may not intervene directly in the running of the plant or endeavour in any way to replace plant management. They shall by all means help to secure one-man control, increased production, plant development, and, thereby, improvement of the material conditions of the working class'. (*Pravda*, 7th September, 1929).

The manager is in full and sole charge of the plant. All his economic orders are unconditionally binding on all the workers. He alone shall select, promote and remove personnel

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'taking into consideration' 'the opinion of the Party and the trade union organizations', but he is not bound by them. (Quoted by A. Feiler and J. Marschak, editors, *Management in Russian Industry and Agriculture*, New York, 1944, p. 36).

The Troika was officially buried in 1937. At the Plenum of the Central Committee, Stalin's second-in-command at that time, Zhdanov, declared: '. . . the Troika is something quite impermissible . . . The Troika is a sort of administrative board, but our economic administration is constructed along totally different lines'. (*Pravda*, 11th March, 1937, Ibid. p. 44).

The new management of industry was very clearly defined by an official manual thus: 'Each plant has a leader endowed with full power of decision, hence fully responsible for everything: the plant manager' (Economic Institute of the Academy of Sciences, *Economics of Socialist Industry*, Moscow, 1940, p. 579, ibid. pp. 12-13). Further, 'one-man control implies strict demarcation between the administration, on the one hand, and Party and trade-union organisations on the other. This strict demarcation must be applied on all levels of industrial management. Current operations in fulfilment of Plan are the task of the administration. The chief of a workshop, the manager of the plant, the head of the Glavk, have full powers, each within his field, and the Party and trade-union organisations may not interfere with their orders'. (*Economics of Socialist Industry*, p. 563, Ibid. p. 19).

In the 'People's Democracies' the workers' committees never acquired the authority they had in Russia, and the Troika never existed at all. The tendency against *any* element of workers' democracy in the factory was more pronounced and its progress much quicker than in the 'vanguard' country.

In all the countries of Eastern Europe the overthrow of Hitler inspired many workers to strive to participate in the management of industry, and in many places they achieved their aim of having the plant management democratically elected by the employees. Thus, for instance, *The Economist* of February 9th, 1946, writes of Czechoslovakia: 'The Employees' Committees tried, in the first fine careless rapture of revolutionary enthusiasm, to dictate how the factories should be managed . . .'

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466 This could not be tolerated by the Communist Party leaders in the government and trade unions. The following process took place:

'. . . the Workers Councils were . . . in control of management for some months, indeed almost until the end of 1945.' 'The situation was transformed by the Government's Nationalisation Decree of 24th October, (1945), which provided for the appointment of National Managers of the public enterprises'. 'So at one step the management of the industries was taken out of the hands of the Works Councils, nor did they retain any semblance of control over the Manager. This was a radical change and brought with it the undisguised hostility of a number of Works Councils'. (*Czechoslovakia. Six Studies in Reconstruction*, The Fabian Society, London, 1947, p. 49).

To reduce still further any remaining efficacy of the Works Committees, every element of democracy in them was abolished. At the general meeting of the Central Trade Union Council of Czechoslovakia at the beginning of April, 1947, the General Secretary complained that in the first round of the elections 32 per cent of the official candidates (no other candidates were allowed) were voted down in the Czech lands and 26 per cent in Slovakia. The Social Democratic Party now came forward openly with a proposal that more than one list be allowed in the Works Council elections, and that each party be free to put forward its own list of candidates. Antonin Zapotocky, the Communist Chairman of the Trade Unions (today the Prime Minister of Czechoslovakia) decided on another tactic as a result of the elections. He proposed to prolong the term of office of the Works Councils from one to two years.

Having established one list of candidates for Works Council elections, the Communist Party not only increased the use of terror in the elections, but also employed various devices for falsifying their results. The Social Democratic daily *Pravo Lidu* of 9th January, 1948, carried across the front page the Party protest against the Communist Party's methods in the factories: 'It is impossible to be silent. Fanatics are breaking up the unity of labour unions. New wave of political oppression in factories'. Of the recent Works Council elections the paper said: 'As developments in the elections are reported to us,

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especially in the large industrial concerns, it is evident that all the questionable practices were used, which were calculated to upset the democratic form of election and to force on the voters a selection (of candidates-Y.G.) that is not free. The meetings are usually called after working hours when the majority of workers are leaving or have left.

'Furthermore, the methods of voting are controlled, which is practically equivalent to direct intimidation'. (Quoted by *The New York Times*, 10th January, 1948).

After the February coup the mouths of the Socialists were closed. The secret ballot too was abolished at that time, and elections to Works Committees were carried out by acclamation, candidates in many cases being trade union officials. Small wonder that at the May 1949 session of the Central Council of the Czechoslovak Trade Unions, Josef Kolský, Deputy General Secretary, could say that in recent Works Council elections 97.3 per cent of the official lists of candidates were accepted (the official *Czechoslovak News Letter*, 19th May, 1949).

After these steps were taken, nothing more stood in the way of complete one-man management in the plant. In place of the workers' management that had arisen in the first months after the liberation of Czechosovakia from the German occupation, came the Production Board (set up by the Decree of October 24th, 1945), only a third of whose members were elected by the workers. After the 'Democractic Victory of February', the Minister of Industry, A. Kliment, announced a new plan: 'We are abandoning the system of collective management and we are going to abolish the Production Boards, instead of which we are going to introduce the system of personal responsibility of the works director, the technicians, the foremen and the workers'. This harks right back to unadulterated capitalism.

In Hungary the 'iron' Minister Ernö Gerö declared in his report to the Central Committee of the Party (June, 1950): 'A factory . . . can only have one manager who in his own person is responsible for everything that happens in the factory.' In all the other satellites too one-man management is the rule.

Democracy having duly been stamped out, the governments could without further ado follow this up by imposing on the

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workers all the known methods of exploitation, old and new. First of these was the introduction on an unprecedented scale of piece work in place of time work.

Piece Work

Marx once said that piece work is 'the most suitable to capitalist methods of production.' The leaders of the 'People's Democracies', however, teach otherwise. Thus *Scanteia*, the Rumanian Communist Party daily, of January 13th, 1949, says: 'Piece-work is a revolutionary (!) system that eliminates inertia and makes the labourer hustle. Under the capitalist system loafing and laziness are fostered. But now everyone has a chance to work harder and earn more' (Quoted by R. H. Markham in *Christian Science Monitor*, 31st January, 1949). 'Socialism', then, is superior to capitalism in that it uses the piece-work system!

The volume of work done at piece-work rates is continually increasing all the time.

In Czechoslovakia in February, 1946, 30.2 per cent of the total number of working hours came under the piece-work system, in January, 1947, 41.7 per cent, in June, 1947, 48 per cent, and the Two-Year Plan (1947-8) provided for the extension of piece-work so as to include 70 per cent of all working hours in industry. The aim is not 100 per cent only because in certain processes it is not possible to implement it. That this emphasis on piece-work was not welcomed by the workers is clear from the following attack made on 18 January, 1949, by the Minister of Justice, Alexej Čepička, on workers who show 'false solidarity' and a striving for 'equalisation of incomes' by opposing the piece-work system. 'Equalisation in wages hampers higher productivity. The piece-work system must be extended so as to give every worker an incentive. It is now used in only 58 per cent of our factories. To extend it to all is our task'. This was not all, for the workers were going slow to keep the norm low: 'Our workers have got to quit stalling and fight against equalitarianism in pay'. (*Christian Science Monitor*, 31st January, 1949).

The piece-workers par excellence, the Stakhanovites, are not loved by the workers. In his report to the 9th Congress of the Party (May, 1949), the General Secretary, Rudolf Slansky,

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revealed that out of 900,000 members of the Party's factory organisation only 65,000 were listed as Stakhanovites. Their unpopularity becomes manifest from a perusal of *Rude Pravo*, the Communist Party daily, which finds it necessary constantly to repeat that Stakhanovites should be placed in more responsible positions and that they should be protected against attacks made on them by 'politically immature' workers. 'There are officials and directors who, being snugly ensconced in their jobs or afraid for their popularity among politically undeveloped elements, fail to defend Stakhanovites as they ought to'. In letters from Stakhanovites published in the press, a frequent complaint is the hostile attitude of the workers towards them. When a reporter of *Lidové Noviny* went to interview Marie Zemancová, a young Stakhanovite in the Prague radio factory 'Tesla' who had been included in the Czech delegation to the Paris 'Peace Congress' as a reward for her work, it turned out that she was completely unknown in her factory. 'This proves', comments the paper, 'that we have been unable to popularise our Stakhanovites and pioneer workers'. (Quoted by *News from Czechoslovakia*, No. 6, April, 1949, published by the Czechoslovak Social Democratic Party in Exile, London). In view of these facts, it is no wonder that at the 9th Congress of the Communist Party open war was declared on people 'who run down the work of Stakhanovites and who even try to put a spoke in their wheel'.

In Poland the piece-work system reached a stage at which the basic wage almost entirely disappeared. As Clarion describes it: 'It should be emphasized incidentally, that with regard to salaries the whole system rests upon the maintenance of basic salaries at an abnormally low level and upon a huge inequality in the bonuses both of money and in kind. The periodical *Études et Conjoncture* in this regard pointed out, in a study of the economic situation in Poland, published in November, 1946, that 'on the average for the whole of industry in May, 1946, the total benefits granted (to the workers) in Poland represented from 6.8 to 14.6 times the basic salary, which thus became a mere supplementary item instead of being the main element of the total remuneration'. (op. cit. pp. 106-7).

The hatred felt by the Polish workers for these extreme forms of piece-work was displayed openly in the spring of 1946 and

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in September, 1947, when tens of thousands of workers went on strike in Lodz, the biggest industrial city in Poland, in spite of the police terror, the mass arrests, the beatings, etc.

In Hungary, when the workers did not show sufficient enthusiasm for the piece-work system, they were accused by Rákosi of being 'lazy' (*N.Y. Herald Tribune*, Nov. 30th, 1948, reporting a speech delivered on November 27th); the factory directors were 'capitulating' to the lazy workers; the production quotas were too low. 'We cannot eat up the future of the nation', he declared. That Rákosi's speech was not effective enough can be seen from the continual harping on the theme of piece-work and its norms by the Hungarian leaders. Thus in the above-mentioned report to the Central Committee of June, 1950, Minister Ernö Gerö said: 'The enemy succeeded in opening a new front against the 'People's Democracy; that of wage and norm swindling'. 'That wage and norm swindling has spread among the masses can be attributed to a great degree to the underground work of right-wing social-democratic elements and to thei rallies, the clerical reactionaries ...' It appears that Party members are also in league with 'right-wing social-democratic elements' who 'swindle' the norms: 'That such an unsavoury situation in the field of norms could arise is partly because in many cases the economic leaders of the factories, party functionaries and trade union members are among those who slacken the norms.' ' . . . in more than one case they go as far as to protect and support the wage swindlers'. This vituperation was followed by a considerable increase in the basic norm.

It is interesting to note that Stalinism is not the only system having extreme recourse to piece-work, Nazi Germany had too. Franz Neumann in his book *Behemoth* (London, 1942) writes: 'The class wage of the Socialist trade unions has been replaced by the "performance wage" (Leistungslohn) defined in Section 29 of the (Nazi-Y.G.) Charter of Labour. "It has been the iron principle of the National Socialist leadership", said Hitler at the Party Congress of Honour, "not to permit any rise in the hourly wage rates but to raise income solely by an increase in performance". The rule of the wage policy is a marked preference for piece-work and bonuses, even for juvenile workers. Such a policy is completely demoralizing,

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for it appeals to the most egoistic instincts and sharply increases industrial accidents'. (pp. 352-3).

Neumann explains why the Nazis went to such extremes in using the piece-work system (no more, however, than are resorted to in the Stakhanovite system): 'The preponderance of the performance wage brings the problem of wage differentials into the forefront of social policy. It is essential that this problem be understood not as an economic question but as the *crucial political problem of mass control* (my emphasis—Y.G.) . . . Wage differentiation is the very essence of National Socialist wage policy . . . the wage policy is consciously aimed at mass manipulation'. (p. 353).

The piece-work system 'is completely demoralising', 'it appeals to the most egoistic instincts,' it is a most important means of 'mass control', of 'mass manipulation', of atomization of the working class, of the creation of elite above elite even within the oppressed class. That is why the Nazis were so keen on its extension, and there is no other explanation of the enthusiasm of the Stalinist rulers for it.*

The Increasing Limitation of the Workers' Legal Freedom

In Russia, until the First Five-Year Plan every worker could freely change his place of work and could migrate unhindered from one part of the country to another.

On the right to change the place of work at that time, the Labour Code (1922) stated:

'The transfer of a hired person from one enterprise to another or his shipment from one locality to another, even when the enterprise or institution moves, can take place only with the

*As an indication of the purpose for which piece-work was so widely introduced, it is interesting to note that it was introduced even before the nationalisation of industry. It would be good, the Communist Party leaders thought, to discipline the workers in advance, in 'the interests of the nation'. In Rumania and Bulgaria, at the beginning of 1945, before the nationalisation decrees, production competitions were introduced, and 'labour heroes' were honoured with medals and money grants conferred by the heads of the governments. The 1st of May, 1946, was celebrated in Hungary as a production competition in the private industries. In these measures the Communist Party leaders got the whole-hearted support of the bourgeoisie. Then, after harassing them in this way, they used the same workers as their support in their onslaught on the bourgeoisie, which resulted in its expropriation. This shows the united attitude of the bourgeoisie and the Communist Party bureaucracy towards the exploitation of the masses (piece-work) and the united attitude of the bureaucracy and the working class towards private property (see Part II of the book).

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466 consent of the worker or employee concerned'. (Article 37, *Labour Code.*)*

On freedom of movement, the *Small Soviet Encyclopaedia* (1930 edition) wrote:

'. . . the custom of internal passports, instituted by the autocracy as an instrument of police oppression of the toiling masses, was suppressed by the October Revolution'.

But already in 1931 no worker was allowed to leave Leningrad without special permission, and in 1932 this system was adopted in all parts of Russia. An internal passport system much more oppressive than the Tsar's was introduced. Now no one could change his place of residence without permission.

As early as September, 1930, all industrial enterprises were prohibited from employing people who left their former place of work without permission. In 1932 Labour Books were introduced which every worker must give to the Director when he is taken on, and in which the director can write whatever remarks he likes when the worker leaves the job. No worker can be taken on at another job without showing his Labour Book. Victor Serge, who lived in Russia for many years as a prominent Communist and then was arrested, and who was finally allowed to leave Russia, writes:

'The passport is visaed at the place of work. With each change of employ, the reason for the change is entered into the passport. I have known of workers discharged for not having come on the day of rest to contribute a "voluntary" (and, naturally, gratuitous) day of work, in whose passports is written: "discharged for sabotage of the production plan" '. (*Russia Twenty Years After*, New York, 1937, p. 68).

On 4th December, 1932, the Government issued another decree designed to subjugate the workers. The factory's supplies of food and other necessities were put under the sole control of the Director 'in order to strengthen the powers of Directors of enterprises' (*Pravda*, 5th December, 1932).

Under a law of 26th June, 1940, a worker is prohibited from leaving his job, unless he is physically unfit to work, is accepted into an educational institution or is given special permission by higher authorities. Any absence without a satisfactory excuse,

*This article was abolished on 1 June, 1938. (Collection of Laws, "Labour Code," Moscow, 1937, p. 20.)

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even for a day, makes the culprit liable to six months' corrective labour—which means a cut of 25 per cent in his earnings during that time. It is symptomatic that a few months after the promulgation of this law a few women wrote a letter to *Izvestia* suggesting that domestic servants also be subject to this law. *Izvestia*, in its comment on this question (December 30th, 1940), although disagreeing with this suggestion, showed no astonishment as to its content in this period of the 'transition from Socialism to Communism'.

Not only are workers prohibited from calling strikes, but strikers are liable, according to law, to be sentenced to death for such an offence. (Item 14 of Article 58 of the Criminal Code. As capital punishment has now been abolished, twenty years penal servitude is given instead).*

The Russian model is now being copied in the 'People's Democracies'. This time it will not take so many years to reach perfection. Until 1928, strikes in Russia were legal and were conducted without police intervention, even though the bureaucratic rulers opposed them more and more as their power grew.†

The 'People's Democracies', however, from the beginning avoided the mistake of allowing strikes. Not one of the new Constitutions includes the right to strike. The explanation is simple, and was put in a nutshell by the spokesman of the Yugoslav Government when he was replying to a proposal to include 'freedom to strike' in the Constitution: 'Now when our

*The following article is the only item in the "Collection of Laws" which touches on or covers any cases that can be interpreted by the courts as strikes: "Counter revolutionary sabotage, i.e., knowingly *omitting to discharge a given duty* or discharging it with deliberate carelessness, with the specific object of weakening the authority of the government or the operation of the government machine, entails—deprivations of liberty for a period of not less than one year, and confiscation of property in whole or in part, provided that where there are aggravating circumstances of a particularly serious nature the penalty shall be increased to the supreme measure of social defence: death by shooting, with confiscation of property". (My emphasis—Y.G. Criminal Code, Article 58 (14), June 6, 1927, "Collection of Laws", No. 49, Article 330, Moscow, 1937, p. 31).

†In 1922-3 there were 500 strikes with 150,000 participants in 1925, 196 strikes with 37,600 participants; in 1926, 337 strikes with 43,200 participants; in 1927, 396 strikes with 25,400 participants. More than 90 per cent of the participants in these strikes were workers employed by the State. Not only were strikes allowed, but at that time the Bolshevik leaders insisted on the active support of Party members for strikes whenever the majority of the workers of an enterprise took this step. (See, for instance, the speeches of Lozovsky and Tomsky to the 11th Congress of the Russian Communist Party, 1922).

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● 466 constitution fully guarantees the rights of the working class, such a proposal is outright reactionary and anti-national'. (20th January, 1946). In opposing strikes the Communist Party leaders showed themselves very willing to use the help of the bourgeois politicians, and these, on their side, did not hesitate to use the authority of the Communist Party leaders in opposing strikes. For instance, the Czechoslovak Minister of Justice, Dr. Drtina ('purged' in the coup of February, 1948) said on 17th March, 1947, about recent unofficial strikes: 'They were . . . in effect strikes against the Government and Premier Gottwald . . . What is more serious is the fact that these strikes against the legal order occurred after the Revolution. Therefore, they are of a terroristic and anarchic character'. (*East Europe*, 26th March, 1947). Of course, from the suppression of the 'anarchic' strikes, the real benefactors were not [687] Dr. Drtina and his friends, but Gottwald and his. In Rumania Decree No. 183 bans strikes, defining them as 'an economic offence'. Participation in strikes is punishable by imprisonment of 1 to 12 years and by fines of Lei 10,000 to 100,000. A member of the Communist Party of any of the Western countries, making use of the double thinking so common to him, will find it quite consistent to support the banning of strikes in Russia and the People's Democracies (except of course, Yugoslavia after 28 June, 1948—the day of the excommunication of Tito by the Cominform) and at the same time oppose any limitation of the right to strike in any enterprise owned by a democratically elected public body in his own country.

The first steps have also been taken to abolish the right of workers to change their place of work. On April 16th, 1948, a law was passed in Yugoslavia prohibiting any state employee from leaving his place of work without permission from a special government commission. On August 19th Sofia Radio reported that the Labour Directorate had decided that the workers 'have no longer the right to leave their working places without permission' of the factory administration. Permission to employ or to dismiss will be granted only in accordance with the needs of production. Workers who leave their employment without permission of the Labour Directorate must be sent back to their original jobs, in accordance with Cabinet Decree No. 7.

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If they do not return voluntarily, they can be called up by the branch labour office (that is, assigned to compulsory labour groups). In Hungary the government published a decree on January 9th, 1950, laying down severe penalties for workers who leave their place of employment without permission. In all the 'People's Democracies' the labour book was copied from Russia. In Yugoslavia an 'improvement' was introduced: every citizen has a *karakteristika*, a record of his political reliability which has to be shown every time he takes a new job. As it is sealed, he does not know its contents, and is not even able to appeal against what is written in it.

Slave Labour

An institution which is of paramount importance in Russia, which is beginning to appear in the satellites and is bound to increase in importance as time goes on, is slave labour.

Some figures regarding the number of slave labourers in Russia are given by D. J. Dallin in a book that he wrote with B. I. Nicolaevsky, *Forced Labor in Soviet Russia.* (London, 1948). 'Kiseliev-Gromov, himself a former G. P. U. official in the northern labor camps, states that in 1928 only 30,000 men were detained in the camps . . . The total number of prisoners in the entire network of camps in 1930 he gives as 662,257 . . . " (p. 52). Dallin comes to the conclusion on the basis of available evidence that the number of people in labour camps in 1931 was nearly 2 million, in 1933-35 about 5 million. He says that in 1942 there were from eight to fifteen million (pp. 53-62). The former Yugoslav Communist leader, Anton Ciliga, who was for many years in a Russian concentration camp, estimates that the number of prisoners was about 10 million (*The Russian Enigma*, London, 1940, p. 249).

A conclusive proof of the existence of slave labour on a big scale in Russia can be gained from the following quotations from *Pravda*. On June 4, 1947, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. passed a decree on 'Protection of Citizens' Private Property' the first article of which reads: 'Theft—that is, covert or open appropriation of the private property of citizens—is punishable by confinement in a reformatory labour camp for a period of five to six years. Theft committed by a gang of thieves or for a second time is punishable

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685 by confinement at a reformatory labour camp for a period of
466 six to ten years.' (*Pravda*, 5th June, 1947).

On the same day another decree was passed on 'Embezzlement of State and Public Property' which includes the following articles:

'(1) Theft, appropriation, defalcation or other embezzlement of state property is punishable by confinement in a reformatory labour camp for 7 to 10 years, with or without confiscation of property.

'(2) Embezzlement of state property for a second time, as well as when committed by an organized group or on a large scale, is punishable by confinement in a reformatory labour camp for 10 to 25 years, with confiscation of property.

'(3) Theft, appropriation, defalcation or other embezzlement of collective farm, cooperative or other public property is punishable by confinement in a reformatory labour camp for 5 to 8 years, with or without confiscation of property.

'(4) Embezzlement of collective farm, cooperative or other public property for a second time, as well as that committed by an organised group or gang or on a large scale, is punishable by confinement in a reformatory labour camp for 8 to 20 years, with confiscation of property.' (Ibid.).

A month after these decrees were passed the U.S.S.R. Public Prosecutor's Office gave ten examples showing how the decrees were carried out in practice (*Pravda* July 9th, 1947):

'(1) In the city of Saratov, V. F. Yudin, who had been previously convicted for theft . . . stole fish from a smoke factory. On June 24th, 1947, . . . Yudin was sentenced to fifteen years' imprisonment in corrective-labour camps . . .

'(2) On June 11th, 1947, an electrician on the power lines of the Moscow-Ryazan railroad, D. A. Kiselev, stole fur goods from a railroad car . . . On June 24th, 1947, the war tribunal of the Moscow-Ryazan railroad sentenced D. A. Kiselev to ten years' imprisonment in the corrective-labour camps.

'(3) In the town of Pavlov-Posad in the Moscow region, L. N. Markelov . . . stole clothing from the Pavlov-Posad textile factory. On June 20th, 1947 . . . Markelov was sentenced to eight years' imprisonment in corrective-labour camps.

'(4) In the Rodnikov district of the Ivanov region, Y. V. Smirnov and V. V. Smirnov . . . stole 375 pounds of oats from

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a collective farm. On June 26th, 1947 . . . both were sentenced to eight years' imprisonment in corrective-labour camps. 685 466

'(5) In the Kirov district of Moscow, E. K. Smirnov, a chauffeur, was arrested for stealing 22 pounds of bread from a bakery. The people's court . . . sentenced E. K. Smirnov to seven years' imprisonment in corrective-labour camps.

'(6) In Saratov, E. I. Gordeyev . . . stole various products from a warehouse. On June 21st, 1947 . . . Gordeyev was sentenced to seven years' imprisonment in corrective-labour camps.

'(7) In Kuibyshev, E. T. Poluboyarov stole a wallet from a train traveller . . . On 4th July he was sentenced to 5 years' imprisonment in corrective-labour camps.

'(8) On June 7th, 1947, in Kazan at the collective farm market, V. E. Bukin snatched money from the hand of Citizeness Pustinsky . . . On June 20th, 1947 . . . Bukin was sentenced to eight years' imprisonment in corrective-labour camps.

'(9) On June 6th, 1947, in the village of Subovka in the Kutuzovsk district of the Kuibyshev region, A. A. Chubarkin and V. G. Morozov stole from a cellar 88 pounds of potatoes belonging to Citizeness Presnyakov. On June 17th, 1947 . . . both were sentenced to five years' imprisonment in corrective-labour camps.

'(10) On June 5th, 1947, in Moscow . . . K. V. Greenwald, who had been previously convicted for theft, took advantage of the absence of his neighbour, entered the room of Citizeness Kovalev and stole various household articles . . . Greenwald was sentenced . . . to ten years' imprisonment in corrective-labour camps.'

That people steal bread and other elementary necessities of life under the cruel threat of a minimum of five years' slave labour if caught, shows what dire provery they are suffering.[1] [735]

That slave labour in U.S.S.R. is very widespread is clear not only from the large amount of evidence given by former inmates of these camps (collected in the above-mentioned book of D. J. Dallin and B. I. Nicolaevsky) and from the facts published in the Russian Press of heavy punishments for the most elementary crimes—if the theft of bread can be so called. There is further evidence which is conclusive even if indirect. Soviet

[1 See examples, category 116, pp. 94-95 --Analyst]

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466 law grants the franchise to everyone above the age of 18 with the exception of the inmates of forced labour camps. In the 1946 elections 101.7 million people had the franchise. The population of U.S.S.R. was 193 million in the same year. The census of 1939 says that 58.4 per cent of the population were 18 and over. In 1946 the percentage of people above 18 was higher, as, firstly, the age distribution of the population in the new areas added to U.S.S.R. (Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, etc.) was such that the percentage of children was lower than in the population of U.S.S.R. in its 1939 boundaries, and, secondly, the war caused a relatively greater decline in the birth rate and increase in the death rate of children as compared with the death rate of the adult population. If we assume that the proportion of people aged 18 and over was the same in 1946 as in 1939, there were altogether 112.7 million people in this category. Seeing that only 101.7 millian had the franchise, it is clear that at least 11 million were inmates of slave labour camps.

Up to now news from official sources of slave labour camps in the satellite countries has been very scarce. The Czechoslovak news agency reported on October 5th, 1948, that forced labour camps were to be set up under a Bill approved at the same day's meeting of the Cabinet.

In the debate on the new Penal Code, passed by Parliament on June 27th, 1950, the deputy Dr. Patchova said: 'The Law expressly states that convicts must be given useful employment which will, after their release, make it possible for them to join the ranks of the workers. On the other hand, a prisoner sentenced as an enemy of the People's Democracy, who, by his work and behaviour while serving his sentence, does not show improvement justifying the hope that he will lead the life of a decent working man, *can be sent to a forced labour camp after he has served his sentence*'. This speech alone proves the existence of the forced labour camps in Czechoslovakia. The best-known camps are at Joachimov and Kladno.

In Rumania a law of 14th January, 1949, fixes very severe sentences—as much as the death penalty—for negligence in fulfilling service obligations in industry. Many of those who are arrested under this law will of course not suffer the supreme penalty, but will supply recruits for the slave labour camps. That other 'crimes' besides economic negligence are paid for

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by forced labour, is illustrated by the fact that several thousand Jews, including some Zionist leaders, have been sent to forced labour camps in Rumania. (London *Jewish Chronicle*, 4th August, 1950). 466

Of forced labour in Yugoslavia *The Times* of 13 June, 1950, wrote: 'To root out Cominformist opposition within the Communist Party and to enforce the collection from the peasants of produce quotas the Government has made numerous arrests, which, although no doubt dwarfed by comparable figures in Russia, make the prison population far greater than anything found in the west. In Britain, with a population about three times as great as in Yugoslavia, the prison population is now about 20,000. Most observers estimate the number of persons now in prison in Yugoslavia at anything from 100,000 to 200,000.' 'Most of the prisoners are employed as a useful reserve of labour on public works . . .'

Indirect official confirmation appears from time to time of the existence of forced labour camps in Hungary, as well as of the pettiness of the 'crimes' that open the gates to them. Thus on 21st August, 1950, Radio Budapest announced that in the wagon factory of Gyöv, a worker, I. Olajos, had been sentenced to six years' compulsory labour for a wage swindle.

In Bulgaria the most notorious forced labour camps are at Kuznian near Pernik, and at Belene.

In Poland the camp at Milecin is the most well-known.

The fact that so little is known of slave labour in the 'People's Democracies' is primarily because the governments are doing their very best to hide the ugly truth which is such an outrage to the concept of 'Socialism' and 'Democracy' which the Communist Parties claim to have established. Another two factors must also be taken into account. To quote Juvenal, 'No one reached the climax of vice at one step'. It took Russia many years to establish camps with millions of inmates. If it is assumed that the proportion of prisoners in the population in all the 'People's Democracies' is about the same as in Yugoslavia, there must be ½-1 million prisoners altogether. The U.S.S.R. with a population double that of the 'People's Democracies' had less than a million slaves in 1930, and two million in 1931. Secondly, it is very probable that although slave labour will be more widespread in Eastern Europe than at

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466 present, it will not reach the Russian dimensions. It is, as Adam Smith clearly showed, very unproductive, being suitable mainly for manual labour which does not require modern industrial equipment, such as lumber work, road and rail construction, large-scale industrial construction, irrigation works, or canals. The more abundant the machinery and the supply of cultured and skilled workers, the less profitable the use of slave labour. Hence in all probability Czechoslovakia will have less slave labour than Bulgaria or Rumania, and the 'People's Democracies' as a whole less than Russia.

It is very difficult, if not impossible, to distinguish between voluntary and forced labour in a totalitarian regime. If it is not obvious in itself, the following declaration of Tito (to the Joint Congress of the Union of Communist Youth and the People's Youth, December, 1948) will make it plain: 'There are, of course, also such students who are not very keen on voluntary work, or who refuse to take part in voluntary work activities . . . Such was the case of a small number of students whom we had to expel from Belgrade University and other universities . . .'

The Distribution of the Social Product

471 Many Communists admit that the bureaucracy in Russia and the satellites have complete control of the state machine and thus of the running of the economy. But they claim that they act entirely in the interests of the people.

To assume that a group of people who are in absolute control of the means of production will not take as much as they can out of the national product for themselves, is tantamount to explaining man's economic conduct by his intentions—a strange method of argument for those who claim to hold the materialist conception of history. The more so when from the same lips we hear that in America and elsewhere, under capitalism based on private property, mere crumbs from the table of the bourgeoisie are a sufficient inducement to bribe and currupt the 'aristocracy of labour'—the trade union bureaucracy, and so forth—and alienate them from the working class. Stalin and his associates have all the food on the table within their reach, and their reach alone, but apparently they are incorruptible, and will remain forever loyal to the working

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468 475 percentage of waste in the Manfred Weiss iron foundry, the second biggest metal factory in Hungary, had risen from 10.4 to 23.5 per cent. In Poland, in 1948, of 67 million tons of coal, 1,100,000 tons were stones; in 1949 the percentage of stones in the coal reached 5 per cent. In 1948 and 1949 a sizeable proportion of the exports of Czechoslovakia—the country with the reputation for products of good quality—was returned as below standard.

The admonitions of the leaders to the workers are often of such a character as to leave no doubt about their indocility. Istvan Kossa, Hungarian Minister of Industry, said in a speech at Debrecen on December 6th, 1948, that 'The workers have assumed a terrorist attitude to the directors of the nationalised industries', and he threatened them with forced labour.

Chivu Stoica, Rumanian Minister of Industry, addressing the workers of the Resita plant, the largest metallurgical establishment in the country, on December 25th, 1948, accused them of not having fulfilled the plan and of being 'capitalist agents'.

In Yugoslavia, Vice-Premier Edvard Kardelj, in his report to the Fifth Congress of the Communist Party (July, 1948), attacked those workers who showed 'resistance to realistic norms, against competition, and on the other hand—in exaggerated demands in regard to pay'. 'It is clear that the consequences of such a stand are a decrease in work discipline, insufficient aid to rationalisers and innovators in the realization and application of their proposals, an incorrect and unfriendly attitude toward the heads of the enterprise, an incorrect attitude toward competitions'. (*The Communist Party of Yugoslavia in the Struggle for New Yugoslavia, for People's Authority and for Socialism*, Belgrade, 1948, pp. 87-8).

466 That the workers nevertheless remain members of the Communist Parties—as the official statistics show—is not because of their enthusiasm for them, but because it is too dangerous to leave. Anyone who leaves the Party faces the threat of economic sanctions (at least). This is shown clearly by some figures issued in October, 1948, by József Révai, editor of *Szabad Nép*, the Hungarian Communist Party daily. He says that the paper is read by only 12 per cent of the Party members. At the big M.A.U.A.G. factories, for example, where 6,000

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out of the 8,000 workers are Party members, only 780 read the Party newspaper. (*For a Lasting Peace, For a People's Democracy*! 15th October, 1948). Thus a large number of workers are merely nominal members of the Party.

The large-scale 'purges' in the Parties also express the increasing hostility between the leaders and their 'supporters'. In the 'purge' in Hungary nearly half a million members were expelled from the Party. In Czechoslovakia, there was a 'purge' of a quarter of a million members in 1948 and the first half of 1949. In Rumania, 'over 192,000 hostile elements', that is, over a fifth of the total membership of the Party, were 'purged' between November, 1948, and May, 1950. In Bulgaria, 92,500 members and candidates, out of a total of 442,183, were expelled from the Party between June, 1949 and June, 1950.

While the workers within the 'People's Democracies' cannot express their dissatisfaction through the police-controlled plebiscites, miscalled general elections, those on the other side of the frontier, who are close enough to know the reality of the regime inside the 'People's Democracies', and free enough to express their opinion of it—as in Austria and Berlin—have decisively shown their disapproval.

The Expropriation of the Peasantry

The parvenu ruling class in Eastern Europe, in order to add to its wealth and comfort, devotes all its energy to increasing the number of workers employed in state industries. Hence it comes into conflict with the masses of the peasantry.

As has been pointed out, the progress of agriculture in the Eastern European countries depends on their industrialisation. Their inherited backwardness, their separation from Western Europe by the division of the Continent into two spheres of influence, Russian imperialist exploitation, the greed of the local bureaucracy—all these factors impede the accumulation of capital, necessary for industrialisation. Had industry already existed on a big scale, the countryside would voluntarily have supplied agricultural products to the urban population in exchange for industrial products, and would also have supplied the necessary labour power for industry, as the surplus population would have been attracted to the towns by their higher

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the Communist Party was in charge of the expulsion of the Germans from the Western territories, and the settlement of Poles in their place. There Gomulka, then General Secretary of the Party, was responsible).

Because in the popular view the Communist Party bore the greatest responsibility for the expulsion, there was a much higher percentage of Communist supporters among the new Czech settlers in the Sudeten areas than in any other part of the country, even than in the big towns where large numbers of workers were concentrated. In the 1946 general elections, in the districts of Jablonec and Turnov the Communist Party polled 70 per cent of the votes, in Kadaň 62 per cent, Falknov 59 per cent, in Aš over 50 per cent, and so on. (The situation in the Western Territories of Poland was similar, hence the Communist leaders insisted on giving highly disproportionate representation to these areas in the general elections of January, 1947).

The whole of the Sudeten population, except some tens of thousands of indispensable skilled workers, was expelled from the country. Those who remained had to do compulsory labour for a minimum of twelve hours a day, and, if the employer thought it necessary, fifteen hours. The National Committees organised this compulsory labour. According to their decrees, the German workers in Czechoslovakia were forbidden to belong to trade unions, were excluded from social benefits, had to give a quarter of their wages as reparations to the state, were not entitled to holidays, and their children were not allowed to attend school.

In the first few days after the defeat of the German army in Czechoslovakia, some cracks were made in the wall of national animosity by open fraternisation between Czech and German workers. For instance, a number of rank and file communists in Bodenbach began to publish a daily paper in Czech and German; it was called *Rudý Prapor—Rote Fahne.* It was short-lived, for Nosek immediately prohibited the publication of any German paper or of any paper in two languages one of which was German.

It is ironical to note that the excesses against the Germans in Czechoslovakia were taking place at the same time—with the Red Army's entry into Germany—as the Russian

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to the belief that human language is unable to express the whole truth about the greatest disgrace to mankind that the twentieth century will know—the Soviet forced labor camps.

A sentence to a forced labor camp amounts to a sentence of death because the enormous majority of the inmates in these camps cannot exist under the conditions prevailing there and die before they are released. The inmate of such a camp works beyond his strength, knowing that if his productivity falls his starvation-level food ration will be cut. The instinct for self-preservation urges him to defend himself from death, and his reactions become those of a hungry animal. All his human feelings disappear, even his attitude toward his fellow inmates. Degraded and humiliated as a human being, the prisoner works like an animal for his enemies only to prolong his life by a year or two and then inevitably to perish.

Political freedom does not exist in the Communist countries either under law or in practice. Let us take for example Article 72 of the Polish constitution of July 1952. Similar provisions will be found in all other Communist constitutions. The first lines of Article 72 say that the citizens have the right of political organization, but the third paragraph of the same article says that organization of assemblies and participation in an organization which opposes the political and social system of People's Poland are forbidden. In other words, any party which does not recognize the Communist political system is forbidden, and membership in it is punishable.

Since membership in a political party presupposes some right to influence that party, the question arises whether the Communists find it advisable to allow every citizen to belong to his country's Communist Party. The answer is no. The official statistics of the Communist parties in the occupied countries as well as in the Soviet Union show that the number of members of these parties ranges from 5 to 10 per cent

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661 cal parties, legislation, courts, and the police who protect
565 the security of the citizens. The state authority is the mediator in the last resort in disagreements between labor and business.

661 The Moloch, which is the Communist state, has on its
466 side the party, the police, and the courts. Special laws con-
641 stantly increase the penalties for the plunder and destruction of the nationalized public property. Because the state is a "people's state" and "does not do injustice to the people," the trade unions act as a tool of the state in raising the productivity and quality of production and fixing the norms of work. The Stakhanovite work system, based on high norms of production and granting starvation-level wages with no means of protection against these, destroys the strength and health of the worker. Strikes are punishable because they are crimes against the interests of the state, and special laws provide discipline of work, penalties for failure to fulfill norms, and forced labor camps for "idlers" and "loafers."

661 Communism deprives the peasant of his beloved land,
641 turns him into a Communist serf, and chains him to the
423 state or collective farm in which the Communist bureaucracy demands of him ever-increasing physical efforts to produce for the insatiable state. After the liquidation of the remnants of private initiative in small business and crafts, the *kulak* peasant, the biggest "capitalist blood-sucker," is dealt with. He is destroyed by tax levies and forced deliveries of agricultural products and is finally evicted from his own farm.

642 Thus, behind the façade of People's Democracy, Communism practices dictatorship in every sphere of life—personal, political, economic, religious, and social. The Communist system creates privileges for the party and makes the citizen economically dependent upon the state. It debases human dignity, wrests faith out of human hearts, kills

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ulation showed any tendency toward decentralization, with 30 per cent of her total industrial population living in the district of Sofia.

The industrial population of these countries was occupied as follows: 25 to 30 per cent in the textile and clothing industries; 18 to 21 per cent in heavy and metallurgy industries; 11 to 22 per cent in the food industry; and 7 to 17 per cent in the lumber industry. A variation in industrial goods and in producing plants was found only in Czechoslovakia and Hungary, in southern Poland and Transylvania, and in the areas of the former Austro-Hungarian Empire.

One of the major problems facing the new governments in their industrialization programs was to equate the growth of the industrial working populations with improvement in industrial working and social conditions. Social legislation in the interwar period attained considerable progress in this direction. Prior to 1914 there already existed in Eastern Europe various social insurance and pension plans, and these were expanded between 1919 and 1939. Compulsory workers' accident and health insurance plans were introduced whereby both employers and wage earners contributed to a central fund to provide coverage for accident, illness, maternity, disability, old age, death, and unemployment. Generally speaking, the working day was reduced to eight hours, with a maximum forty-eight hour week, and the age minimum for child and woman labor was fixed at fourteen years or, in the case of heavy and dangerous work, such as mining, at sixteen to eighteen years. However, rigid application of these measures was far from universal.

A notable innovation was the establishment by the agrarian regime in Bulgaria of a compulsory labor service for the development of public works in place of the traditional military service which had been prohibited by the peace treaty. Expenditures in 1937 for social services for the entire region averaged 3 per cent of the estimated national in-

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come. Once again, Czechoslovakia headed the list with 5.5 per cent while the Balkan countries devoted only 1.5 per cent of their national income to social services. In the same year the number of persons registered as unemployed in the various countries was as follows: Czechoslovakia, 408,000; Poland, 347,000; Hungary, 47,000; Yugoslavia, 21,600; and Rumania, 10,800.

A major consequence of industrialization and urbanization was the rapid growth both of an urban proletariat and of the bureaucracy. Those people who had been separated from their ancestral rural surroundings and traditions and often from the influence of their families became increasingly detached from spiritual matters and turned more and more towards materialistic and technical spheres. The number of bureaucrats grew rapidly and this resulted in political favoritism and in desk-level programs which very seldom touched the people of the countryside.

It cannot be said, however, that no progress was made or that standards of living were consistently low. It must be remembered that it was not until the First World War that many of these countries attained independence. A part of Poland had just emerged from Russian domination and certain areas of the Balkan states had just freed themselves from Ottoman rule. Even Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Croatia, and parts of Poland had been freed only recently from Austro-German political and economic controls. Under these circumstances, the progress made by these countries, notwithstanding failures and mistakes, was considerable indeed.

III

The states that had dominated this region before the First World War—Germany, Austria-Hungary, Russia, and the Ottoman empire—showed little interest in improving the educational standards of the large masses in Eastern Europe.